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Chief Waubonsie and the Pottawattamie Indians

By WILLIAM C. RATHKE

The following article was prepared by Mr. Rathke at the request of the Mills County Historical Society in connection with the recent dedication of their new building in Glenwood. He is a resident of Glenwood, and has long been active in promoting and preserving the history of southwestern Iowa.

One of the more notable Indian tribes to inhabit the Territory of Iowa was the once powerful Pottawattamie nation, which located in the southwestern portion of the state from 1836 to 1846. The result of considerable research by Seth Dean of Glenwood on their history and the life of their noted chief, Waubonsie, was published in the ANNALS OF IOWA, Vol. 16, No. 1 (July 1927). However, Mr. Dean was not able to complete his studies. The following article complements Mr. Dean's work by providing further information on the period prior to the Pottawattamies' removal to Kansas, and then tells the story of the subsequent history of the tribe.¹

Writers have spelled Pottawattamie and Waubonsie many different ways. For instance, a county in Kansas is spelled Pottawatomie, a county in Oklahoma is spelled Pottawatomie, but the county in Iowa is spelled Pottawattamie. A park in South Bend, Indiana, a region where these Indians lived for a long time, is called Pota-

¹ The following were some of the references consulted in the preparation of this article: *History of Mills County, Iowa*, 1881; Livingston Farrand, *Basis of American History*, Vol. II, 1907; *United States Bureau of Ethnology Reports*; G. E. E. Lundquist, *The Red Man in the United States*, 1923; Freeman Cleaves, *Old Tippecanoe*, 1939; William Henry Harrison, *Messages and Letters*.

watomi, the spelling commonly in use by ethnologists and historians. We adhere to the Iowa spelling.

In *Indian Tribes of North America* Waubonsie is spelled Wabaunsee; in *Red Men of Iowa* it is spelled Waubunsee; in *Notes of 60 Years* it is spelled Wahbonseh; *Outposts of Zion* spelled it Waubonsa; and a post office maintained for many years at Waubonsie village spelled it Wahaghbonsy. We have followed the spelling used in naming Waubonsie State Park, the same spelling used for a state highway in southern Iowa. This spelling was used by E. R. Ferguson, an attorney at Shenandoah, Iowa who had much to do with naming the road and the park.

In order to understand the times and the thinking of Waubonsie and the Pottawattamie Indians, it is necessary to go back to early colonial times and briefly trace their history down through the years. In common with other Indian tribes, they were subjected to almost constant pressure as the tide of pioneers and later settlers took more and more land away from them. It can well be said of Waubonsie and his tribe that they resisted with ability and determination and then accepted the result with dignity.

A study of American Indians must take note of the origin and development of their culture. There is no universally accepted system of classification for the native races of America, but their essential unity is recognized. Broadly viewed, their racial features are closer to the Mongoloid type of man than any other. This would indicate that they originally came from Asia. Even essential unity allows wide variation in details, and nature has seized her privilege in producing the existing confusion in Indian stocks.

The short, squat Eskimo, with Mongoloid features and light skin, is strikingly different from the tall, dark, impressive Sioux or Algonquian. The coarse-faced Indian of Puget Sound is easily distinguished from the more delicately featured native of the southwest.

Anthropologists of today distinguish Indian culture groups by four sets of characteristics—physical, linguistic, geographical, and general culture. The first two criteria

are the more exact; and the linguistic classification of the North American tribes has been accepted as the most satisfactory for scientific study.

The languages of the North American Indians in general are very similar. Suffixes, prefixes and parts of speech are added to the verb to a bewildering degree, and all of these parts are brought together into a single word that may express an entire thought. One tribe may make up words that are very different from another. This results in a pattern of different languages, all based on similar parts of speech.

The Bureau of Ethnology in Washington has determined 59 independent linguistic families north of Mexico, the best classification at our disposal. Aside from the tribes of the south and west of the Rocky Mountains, we find that the rest of the United States has been dominated by three large groups or families. These, and their most important constituent tribes, according to the Bureau of Ethnology, are as follows:

Iriquoian Family—Cayuga, Cherokee, Conestoga, Erie, Mohawk, Neuter, Nottaway, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca, Tionontate, Tuscorara, Wyandot. The powerful six nations in New York State in colonial times were the Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onandaga, Seneca and Tuscorara tribes. J. Fenimore Cooper made them famous in his *Leatherstocking* tales.

Algonquian Family—Abnaki, Algonkin, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Chippewa, Conoy Cree, Delaware (Lanape), Fox, Illinois, Kickapoo, Massachusetts, Menominee, Miami, Micmac, Mohegan, Montagnais, Montaul, Munsee, Nanticoke, Narraganset, Nauset, Nimuc, Ojibwa, Ottawa, Pamlico, Pennacook, Pequot, Piankishaw, Pottawattamie, Powhatan, Sauk (Sac), Shawnee, Siksika (Blackfoot), Wampanoag and Wappinger. It will be seen from this list that the Algonquian family was the largest group and the most widely distributed.

Siouan Family—Dakota group, including Santee, Sisseton, Wahpeton, Yankton and Yanktonnais. Others are: Teton (Brule, Ogalalla, Unepapa, etc.), Assinaboin, Omaha, Ponca, Kaw, Osage, Quapaw, Iowa, Otoe, Missouri, Winnebago, Mandan, Gros Ventre, Crow, Tutelo, Biloxi, Catawba and Woccon. Some of these tribes were mostly based in Canada.

The Pottawattamie tribe was a prominent member of the Algonquian family and it might be well to go into some detail about this family. An estimate made in 1700

indicates that the colonists thought the number of Algonquians in New England to be about 250,000. A Florentine traveler, Verrazano, paddled up the Penobscot River in Maine in 1524, returning with wonderful tales of a "Great City" which he had found on its banks, and of a mighty chieftain, The Lord of Norumbega. Only a century later Champlain found that the great city had been reduced to a few tents. Early in the 20th century the descendants of the proud people ruled by the Lord of Norumbega, numbering less than 900 all told, still lived in Maine. They are known as the Abnaki Indians.

The Algonquians are described in the *Basis of American History* as physically among the best of the aborigines. They are tall and strong, moderately long headed, with the prominent nose and the projecting cheek bones which are regarded as characteristic of the American Indian. The mouth and lips are not as coarse and their general features are somewhat finer than those of the natives of the northwest or even the plains. The skin is brown with a very slight coppery tone.

The Algonquians were, as a rule, a woodland people with the culture, life and craft which such residence brings about. But the wide difference in latitude between the northern and southern branches of the Algonquians naturally brought about differences in their way of life.

The typical dwelling was a small hut built of saplings set firmly in the ground and bent together at the top, forming a rounded frame. Split poles and flexible branches were woven through this framework and the whole was covered with leaves, reeds, bark or brush. These were the so-called "wigwams" and were usually set in groups. The villages thus formed were sometimes surrounded by a palisade of poles driven into the ground. Summer dwellings were nothing more than simply made shelters of brush.

The religion of the Algonquians involved, as was true of other Indian nations, a belief in "manitou" or mystery, individualized in many forms and brought into relationship with man through rites and ceremonies of a shaman-

istic nature. The mythologies of Algonquian groups indicated a great number of "manitous" of varying power and character. There was always one who played the leading role, the benefactor and cultural hero of the tribe. It was in the early misconception of these characters in the different Algonquian tribes that the prevalent notion of the "Great Spirit" of the Indians had its origin.

The Algonquians were organized in a totemic clan system and descent usually followed the female line. Each clan had a chief and, often a tribal chief as well who was normally chosen from one clan in which the office was hereditary. This chief's authority was not clearly defined. He did not interfere in matters concerning only one clan, but was appealed to on questions of general or inter-clan interest. A temporary chief, known for his prowess in battle, was usually chosen to lead them in war. He took precedence over the permanent leaders of the clans or tribe.

One of the most important religious customs of the Indians was the acquisition of a personal protecting "manitou" or spirit. The man who put himself in an especially close relation with such supernatural beings became a shaman or medicine man. His influence was in direct proportion to the power of his "manitous."

In this communication with the spirits, the medicine man obtained by practice and piety great influence over them. Therefore, he was the person called in to expel the evil spirit of illness from an invalid, or to conduct a ceremony of wider import. The procedure in caring for the sick was much the same in all parts of the continent. The medicine man danced and sang his particular songs, performed various manipulations of a special and symbolic kind, and thus forced the spirit of illness to leave the body of the sick person. The successes were surprisingly numerous as the Indian has a markedly emotional temperament. The power of suggestion has in them a most favorable soil in which to operate. Failure was easily explained by the counter influence of hostile spirits or other medicine men.

Their customs governing death and burial form a subject of study in themselves. They also arise out of the belief in spiritual beings which underlies all Indian religious thought. The soul of the dead man was believed to exist after death and to have needs similar to those of the body in life. Many different kinds of offerings were made at the grave to be used by the soul in the spirit life. A curious conception of a multiplicity of soul was also held by some tribes. Each individual was believed to be animated by several spirits which had different functions after death. One, for example, would remain near the body, one would haunt the village, one would go into the land of the dead, the so-called "happy hunting grounds," etc.

Methods of burial were many and varied. Graves, stone pits or cists, caves and huts were used by many tribes. An interesting mode in fairly common use was the placing of the corpse in a tree or on a scaffold; and, in some instances, the body was exposed to be devoured by the beasts and the birds. Another method was to wrap the body in the best blanket obtainable and place the body in a box on a platform with the other offerings. Later these were taken down and buried. No matter what the method might be, it was carried out with rigid ceremony and the utmost care and respect.

The general habits and customs of the Algonquian family apply in general to the Pottawattamie tribe. The name Pottawattamie means "Makers of Fire" and indicates that they had assumed the rights of a separate and independent people by building a council fire of their own. They were a distinct and sovereign tribe when white settlers came into contact with them. At the close of the French and Indian wars in 1763 they were estimated to number about 6500.

The hunting grounds of the Pottawattamies were located largely in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The Ottawas and Chippewas were closely associated with them by ties of blood and joint occupancy of these lands, and no portion could be relinquished without the approval of a majority of the chiefs of the three tribes.

France was the first European nation to establish dominion over the Indian country of the Old Northwest, largely by gaining control of the fur trade and providing the Indians with supplies that they soon came to depend upon. The French often adopted the Indian way of life, and they made no attempt to dispossess the Indians of their lands. In contrast, an increasing number of English colonists encroaching upon their traditional hunting grounds west of the Alleghenys had provoked the Indians into a sort of guerrilla warfare against these permanent settlers. The Ottawas, Ojibwas, and Pottawattamies in particular proved valuable allies of the French in their struggle with England for domination of North America during the French and Indian wars. The Pottawattamies were in the forefront of the successful attack upon British and colonial forces under General Braddock, and his second-in-command, Colonel George Washington, July 9, 1755.

However, the entire region east of the Mississippi River passed into the hands of England following her conquest of Canada in 1760. The influence of the celebrated war chief, Pontiac, among the tribes in the northwest was then at its height. He called a great council near the Maumee River in 1762, at which the Pottawattamies were well represented. For the first time the Indians moved to unite under one leader. They determined upon a general war against white settlers. The main post at Detroit finally repulsed Pontiac's forces following a siege of 5 months in 1763. Relative peace came to the frontier during the American Revolution, at the conclusion of which, England relinquished all claims to the territory south of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi to the newly independent United States.

It was during such turbulent times that the Pottawattamie war chief, Waubonsie, was born. His place of birth is unknown—one place suggested is the site of the present city of Cleveland, Ohio, platted in 1796. Others have placed it in western Indiana. The date is also unknown. Waubonsie was said to be 87 years old when he attended a great council of Indians from Kansas, Nebraska, and

western Iowa held at Tahlequah, Kansas, in June of 1843. This would make the year of his birth 1756. Other estimates place it as late as 1765.

In 1795 Waubonsie was present at an important council at Urbana, Illinois, called by the famous chief, Tecumseh. One of Tecumseh's lieutenants at this meeting was Billy Caldwell, a half breed whose Indian name was Sagonash. Another of his followers was Shabbona or Shabana. Both of these men figured prominently in Pottawattamie affairs and were later active members of the tribe in Iowa.

Billy Caldwell was the son of Captain William Caldwell, a bustling Irish soldier of fortune who became a colonel in the Canadian Indian Department. His mother was a sister of the Shawnee chief, Blue Jacket. The youth was educated by French Jesuits at Detroit. He became a close associate of Tecumseh and took part in all his campaigns. After the War of 1812, he settled in Chicago, becoming a justice of the peace. Billy Caldwell later moved to Iowa with the Pottawattamie Indians.

Shabbona or Shabana was a grand nephew of the great Pontiac, and was regarded by Tecumseh as the chief apparent of the Pottawattamies. He was a tall, powerful Indian, supple and dexterous, a man of handsome bearing whose name meant "Shoulders Like a Bear." He could have commanded a host of warriors from the northern Illinois plains, but preferred to personally serve Tecumseh.

Tecumseh probably commanded the finest Indian fighting force ever assembled. He had a good education for the times, spoke English well, was acquainted with Shaksperian plays and other English literature. He is reported to have become a member of a Masonic Lodge. He traversed the country from the Alleghanies to the Rockies and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf, enlisting braves to fight the advance of the white settlers. Better versed in tactics, and generally more able even than Pontiac, he joined forces with the British in the War of 1812.

Tecumseh had a brother, Laulewasika, later to be known as the Prophet Tenskwautawa (The Open Door), who had a tremendous influence over the Indians as a

shaman or medicine man. He established his headquarters at Prophetstown, Indiana. General Harrison for many years felt that the Prophet had a greater influence over the Indians than Tecumseh, and was a greater menace to the American cause. The Prophet was to spend the last of his days with the Pottawattamie Indians in Iowa and in Kansas.

Waubonsie and other chiefs negotiated a treaty in 1809 whereby the Pottawattamies ceded their lands in Indiana to the United States government, and were moved to new homes that included the site of the present city of Chicago. They were provided hunting grounds along the Mankakee river. They trusted that the restless tide of empire would permit them to permanently live here in peace.

Britain and the United States again went to war in 1812. The Indians, under the leadership of Tecumseh, saw in this conflict their best opportunity to drive back the constantly oncoming white people. Waubonsie was regarded as one of the strongest of the chiefs in this enormous confederacy of tribes that fought with England. Supported by the British across the river from Detroit, they planned to sweep down and force the American settlers back across the Alleghany mountains.

Mrs. John H. Kinzie credits Waubonsie and other neighboring chiefs with saving her family during the Fort Dearborn massacre, August 15, 1812. "Black Partridge, Wau-ban-see, and Kee-po-tah, with two other Indians, having established themselves in the porch of the building as sentinels, to protect the family from any evil that the young men might be excited to commit, all remained tranquil for a short space after the conflagration."²

A British force, composed largely of Tecumseh's Indians, captured the city of Detroit and invaded Michigan, Illinois and Indiana, but finally were driven back in a very bitter campaign by the Americans under General William Henry Harrison who was to become the ninth

² Mrs. John H. Kinzie, *Wau-Bun: The Early Day in the Northwest*, Rand, McNally & Company, Chicago, 1901. p. 184.

president of the United States. Tecumseh was later killed at the Battle of the Thames in Ontario, and the Indian confederacy began to fall apart.

The Indian experience at the end of the War of 1812 was similar to the one that they had with the French at the close of the war of 1763-4. A treaty was signed far away from the scene of action, and the Indians found they no longer had the support of their British allies.

Waubonsie representing the Pottawattamies, Ottawas, Kickapoos and Ojibwas, was one of the leaders of a group of chiefs who buried the hatchet with their old enemies by signing a treaty at Greenville, Illinois, July 22, 1814. General Harrison acting for the 17 United States reported that Five Medals (Waubonsie), a Pottawattamie, was the first to declare that he would take hold of the American war hatchet. Five Medals said, "I speak plain, I hide nothing."³ He was followed by the chieftains of the Wyandot, Miami, Wea, Ottawa, Kickapoo and other tribes. All told 112 Chiefs and Headmen placed their signs on this agreement.

Harrison concluded a further and final agreement at Detroit on September 8, 1815, making an arrangement "that would be solid and permanent." From this time on Waubonsie was to prove an undeviating friend of the United States government. He must have been some 50 years old at this time. The Pottawattamie chief took no part in the Black Hawk war that occurred in 1832.

Shabbona and Caldwell were very much disappointed with the British after the Treaty of Ghent which formally ended the War of 1812. In all probability they were among the 112 signers for the Indian tribes of the Greenville treaty. Both chiefs seemed sincere in their pledges of peace and they remained on good terms with the Americans thereafter. Shabbona was granted some land as an individual, which was quite unusual at that time. It was located in DeKalb county, Illinois, and he returned to make his home there. When the Pottawattamies were later moved to Iowa, the government built

³ Freeman Cleaves, *Old Tippecanoe*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1939, p. 227.

him another home on these new tribal lands. The Pottawattamies were again removed to Kansas in 1846, but Shabbona continued to move restlessly back and forth between their territory in Kansas, the old Iowa lands and his Illinois home. Finally, his homestead in Illinois was arbitrarily sold to others during his absence by the government land commissioners, though it had been awarded to him by the treaty of Prairie-du-chien.

It is very possible, in view of the fact that the government built him a dwelling in Iowa, and since his property in Illinois was unoccupied at various times, that the authorities decided he had abandoned it and felt they were justified in disposing of it. No doubt, the best of the government agents had at times, a very difficult problem in dealing with the Indians.

The quest for new lands by eastern immigrants continued. Waubonsie helped to negotiate a treaty signed at Chicago, September 26 and 27, 1833, whereby his people gave up their lands in Indiana and western Illinois in exchange for new homes along the Missouri River in what later became the state of Iowa. Under the supervision of the War Department, the first groups of Pottawattamies moved in the fall of 1835, with the others following the next year.

Unfortunately, the authorities at first erroneously settled the Pottawattamies opposite Fort Leavenworth in the Kansas Indian Reservation. However, Missouri had finally been able to persuade the federal government to acquire the Indians' rights to this triangular strip of land known as the Platte Purchase, to round out the boundaries of the state of Missouri; and homesteaders were already pouring into the territory. Arrangements were finally completed in 1837 to the relief of all parties concerned, to move the Pottawattamies north out of the Platte Purchase lands.

Thus, the Pottawattamies came to Iowa land. One writer says that they were loaded on a steamboat and carried up the Missouri to Council Bluffs; another says that the women and children were conveyed by steamer while the men traveled overland with an escort of U.S.

dragoons. Perhaps the most reliable account may be found in *The Last Trek of the Indians*:

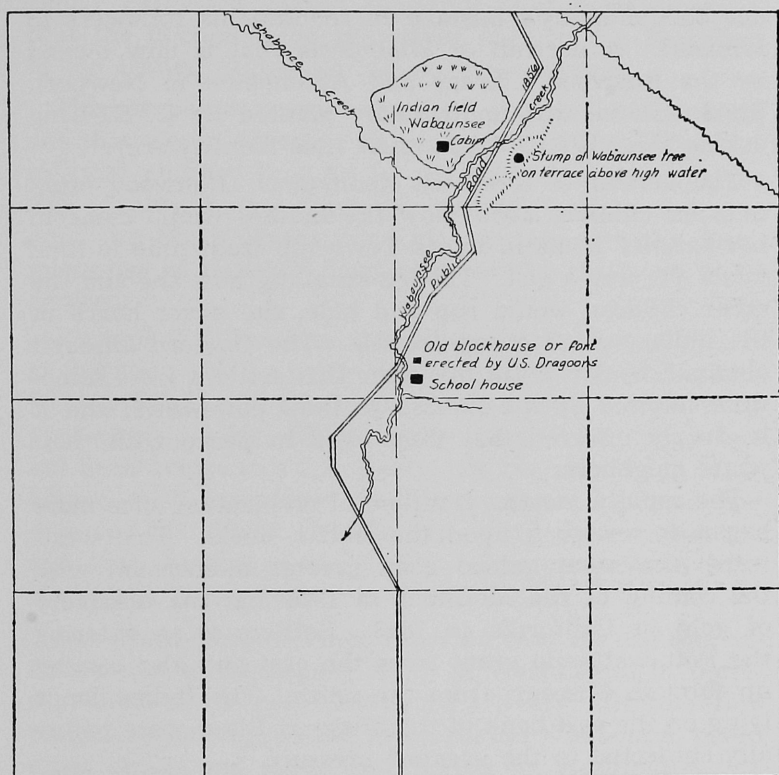
The sub-agent for the Potawatomi, from his station at Council Bluffs, reported in 1837 the arrival of a detachment of his Indians who came up to their reservation in Iowa by the Missouri River steamboat Howard. When they landed, they encamped with a former party just debarked from the steamboat Kansas in a grove adjacent to a fine tract of prairie. Here they were joined in a few days by the main body of the nation from Chicago that had been twenty-three days with General Atkinson on the march by land from the Black Snake Hills on the Platte Purchase.⁴

An Indian trader at St. Louis, Peter A. Sarpy, owned a store at Traders Point in Mills County, and also a ferry across the river to Bellevue, Nebraska, where he bought furs and supplied the Indians with goods. This could well have been the point where the Pottawattamies entered into Iowa. Mr. Sarpy was for many years thereafter quite prominent in local affairs in Iowa and across the river in Nebraska.

The removal of the Indians to Iowa is reported to have cost the federal government a million dollars. Debts accumulated with traders in Chicago accounted for \$250,000, the actual operation cost \$500,000, and the other \$250,000 was used to get the Indians settled in their new home. A two story log house was built for Waubonsie in what is now Lyons Township, Mills County, Iowa (See Map). United States land surveys locate it as the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ of the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of Section 25, Township 71, Range 43. A one story log house was built for Shabana on Plum Creek in northwest Fremont County. A similar dwelling was built in Council Bluffs, or Kanessville as it was known then, for Billy Caldwell. Here he handled most of the details of business between the tribes and the sub-agent of the United States. Still another cabin was built for Chief Shatee at Lacey Grove, a settlement about six miles south of where Tabor is today.

Waubonsie's large house was located at the junction of two creeks, one of them known as Waubonsie creek and a smaller one known as Shabana creek. Known as

⁴ Grant Foreman, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1946, fn., 5 *United States Statutes*, 34, 802.



Waubonsie Village, 1848

Waubonsie village, a post office was maintained there for some time and it served as a stopping place for stage coaches. It was also the site of a school house and a grist mill after the Indians left. The total number of Indians on the reservation was about 3000, with usually about 300 in Waubonsie village.

Chief Waubonsie is known to have made a trip to Washington about the time the Pottawattamies were mistakenly settled in Missouri. Although it was an arduous journey, partly by horseback and partly by stage coach and river steamer, the old chief made the trip at least once more in later years. He probably had much to do with the fairly prompt settlement of the troubles

due to the Army's mistake in sending his followers to Missouri. A portrait of Waubonsie that is now owned by the Redwood Library and Athenaeum in Newport, Rhode Island, was undoubtedly painted by C. B. King during this visit to Washington (See frontispiece).

The mother of Lewis G. Rodman of Glenwood often told her children about how the Indians would come to her parents' home in Lyons Township from time to time when she was a girl. Though recalling how she and the other children would run and hide, she never heard of the Indians causing any trouble. The Gaylord affidavit obtained by Mr. Dean mentions that settlers were sometimes invited by the Indians to their pow-wows; and it is clearly inferred that they lived in peace with their white neighbors.

The rapidly moving frontiers of civilization once more began to encroach upon the Indian lands. This westward movement gained even greater momentum with the coming of the Mormons in 1846 and the discovery of gold in California in 1848. Settlers were entering the Pottawattamie grant from the east and also coming up through Missouri from the south. The Indian lands lying on the east bank of the Missouri River were naturally subjected to the greatest pressure.

The Pottawattamies were also disturbed by the nearness of the warlike Sioux to the north. Armed raids by the latter had already caused the death of 19 Pottawattamie Indians. In 1838, 1840-41, and 1844, the United States made unsuccessful efforts to get the Pottawattamies in Iowa to sell or exchange their lands and remove to Kansas.

Acting upon his instructions, Major Thomas H. Harvey, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, came to Council Bluffs June 23, 1843, and entered into a council with the Indians. Waubonsie, their principal chief, presented Major Harvey with a written instrument drawn up in the form of a treaty. Admitting that they had taken ten days to prepare it, the Pottawattamies offered to sell and exchange their Iowa lands, and remove therefrom in exchange for certain considerations. They ur-

gently requested, rather strangely as it then appeared, that the document be submitted only to the President of the United States for his exclusive answer.

This proposed treaty contained 17 articles, including one that would set aside 10 sections of land for Waubonsie, and another that he be paid a special annuity for life. These terms were considered "wildly extravagant" by Major Harvey and his advisers, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs rejected the treaty on their advice.

Richard S. Elliot was the sub-agent at Council Bluffs at this time, and he wrote that as soon as Superintendent Harvey left for St. Louis, the chiefs started a mysterious pow-wowing. Mr. Elliot finally found that "they had not been averse to a fair treaty, but the stately old Waubonsie, with the snows of 80 winters on his head had dreamed that Major Harvey was a little Father after all, and that the treaty could only be properly made with the Great White Father in Washington."

Sub-agent Elliot further reported that the Indians solicited him to accompany them to Washington to represent them in the negotiations for a treaty. He therefore resigned as sub-agent and accompanied Waubonsie, seven other chiefs and three half breeds to Washington, via St. Louis. They located in Fuller's Hotel and started negotiations with the representative of the government, which lasted from November 3 to December 2, 1845.

Elliot has left an enlightening account of this meeting. Chief Waubonsie opened the talks with a brief speech, concluding with the expressed hope that if all parties could agree on a treaty, it would be a wise one, as the Indians did not ever expect to make another. Day after day there was a vast amount of oratory by both sides at the councils, until Elliot and the Indians finally agreed with the commissioners on a sort of protocol, or preliminary treaty, to be signed at Council Bluffs the following spring, providing this was fully acceptable to the Indians back home.

On the last day of the meetings, Waubonsie, the aged

principal chief of the Iowa Pottawattamie delegation, spoke openly of their feelings:

All our chiefs before you say your paper is very good. You heard what each one of them pledged himself to do in regard to it, when we return to our people. My friends, you have spoken to us so mildly and well, that we all feel glad. You have treated us so kindly, we would like you to come to us next spring, in case our people agree to make a treaty. You understand all our business now. If others were to come to us, they would not know so much about it, they might make a mistake, and not understand what has been done here. If you can come, we would like you to do so.

In accordance with this agreement, Major Harvey came to Council Bluffs again the next spring, and after two days of the usual preliminaries the treaty was signed on June 5, 1846. The movement of the tribe to Kansas began before the end of the year.

Waubonsie did not lead his people to Kansas but remained in Iowa where he made his home until his death. There naturally were many details to be settled before leaving and some of the white people in their anxiety to get hold of the Indian lands may have made it more difficult. The following writ of replevin illustrates the type of disputes the old chief had to settle:

State of Missouri }
County of Atchison }

Before me, James Cummings, justice of the peace of the county aforesaid, this day personally came Rufus Hitchcock, who, being duly sworn, sayeth that Wahbonchey justly owes him \$22.00 and that the said Wahbonchey is leaving the county without paying him or leaving property for him, and that he wants a writ of attachment against the goods, chattles, monies of Wahbonchey and further sayeth not, this Nov. 14, 1846.

(Signed) Rufus Hitchcock.

Sworn to and subscribed to before me this 14th day of Nov. 1846

James Cummings, Justice of the Peace

Rufus Hitchcock operated a trading business which he had taken over on the death of Major Cooper. Old accounts say Cooper was an Indian trader located in northwest Missouri during the dispute over the border line between Missouri and Iowa. Mr. Cooper did quite a lot of trading with the Indians and with Waubonsie.

The county seat of Atchison County at that time was Austin, a ghost town which actually was located on land which is now in Fremont County, Iowa.

The exact date and place of Waubonsie's death have not been established. Most authorities believe he died at Waubonsie village in 1848. Details of the burial are more certain. Mr. Gaylord and Mr. Wolfe in their affidavits to Mr. Seth Dean recall seeing the presumed body of the chief secured in a tree near his cabin as an offering to the Great Spirit. Some time after the Indians had left the region, the remains together with his personal effects were apparently desecrated by the whites.

It must have been a sad and discouraged group of followers that gathered for the funeral of Chief Waubonsie. Some of the Indians probably had not yet left for Kansas, and others on receiving the news, returned for the occasion. As was their custom, they gathered together his valued possessions, provided food for him on his journey to the happy hunting grounds, and with great ceremony carried him to his final resting place in the highest spirit of devotion. They doubtless returned later for the final rites, perhaps having been delayed by their moving to Kansas. Their anger and dismay upon finding the funeral pyre despoiled and its contents stolen can well be imagined.

Thus Waubonsie went to his final rest. The mighty warrior of his earlier years; the orator and the war chief who fought with all the weapons at his command to hold the traditional hunting grounds of his people; and the man who kept his word to the United States in dark and troublesome years passed on with dignity and the highest honors of his people.

The Pottawattamies who had come to Iowa from Illinois were taken to a reservation located in Jackson County, Kansas, with headquarters in the town of Mayetta. The history of the Pottawattamie tribe during the next 75 years has been well summarized by G. E. E. Lindquist in his book, *The Red Man in the United States*:

The Pottawattamie Indians did not all go from Illinois to Iowa but continued to stay in Illinois and in Wisconsin. They

were finally gathered up and placed in a reservation consisting of land which was purchased as available in Wisconsin and in Michigan, resulting in a total of some 15,000 acres, all unallotted to individuals and scattered over several counties, the largest tract being in Forest County, Wisconsin. Not only had the government endeavored to meet its obligations by providing lands for these Indians but it had gone further and recognized that the sum of \$500,000 was properly owed to the band and had provided an apportionment for their benefit. In consequence, the 650 Indians, living at the agency, located at Leona, formed a prosperous and self-respecting band. Their chief source of income is cultivation of the land, with stock raising as a secondary occupation. The native industries, basket making and bead work, give employment to a certain number.

The Pottawattamie Indians of Kansas were settled on the Nemaha reservation under treaties of 1846 and 1867. They are known as "The prairie band of Pottawattamies" and number 783 of whom only 250 are not United States Citizens. The reservation, consisting of 220,785 acres, is situated in Jackson County. The principal commercial center is Mayetta on the Rock Island railroad.

The white people who were settled on the reservation are about equal in number to the Indians and living conditions and general civilization among the latter will bear comparison with conditions obtaining among the whites. A portion of their allotments is leased by 215 of the Indians. However, government rules insist that each Indian must retain 40 acres of his land for his own use. These Indians are farmers and while not exactly prosperous, neither are they poverty stricken. The state laws regarding marriage and divorce are strictly enforced.

There are eight school districts located within the bounds of the reservation which furnish adequate school facilities for all the children. A number also attend non-reservation boarding schools, such as Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas, and Genoa, Nebraska.

In 1868, a number of the "Citizen Pottawattamie Indians," meaning those who were permitted to take their lands in severalty rather than joint tribal ownership, were removed to Indian Territory. In 1923 this group numbered 530. Their allotments were, for the most part, situated in fertile sections along the rivers, were freely interspersed with white settlements and, since all the lands were allotted, there are no reservation lines. Much of the land is good for farming, and a variety of crops, principally grain and cotton, can be raised. Efforts have been made to induce the Indians to engage in

more intensive cultivation of the land, and the absence of poverty indicates that these efforts have met with a considerable measure of success. Nevertheless, too many of the Indians are content to lease their lands to white settlers. The Pottawattamies, who early came under the influence of Catholic missionaries, and frequently intermarried with the French, are the most advanced.

More and more of the Indians have left the reservation in the last thirty-five years. Many of those who have secured higher education are engaged in the various professions, with probably more teachers than any other. Some have become tradesmen and skilled mechanics, while others have joined the labor forces in nearby towns and cities.

The following information on the present condition of the Pottawattamies has been largely obtained from Mr. Buford Morrison, Administrative Officer, Potawatomi Area Field Office, Horton, Kansas.

The reservation in Kansas has been reduced from an originally very large area extending for many miles along the Kansas River to a tract of 11 miles by 11 miles. Only about a third of this area is still owned by the Pottawattamies, their present holdings amounting to about 25,000 acres.

Under a re-organization act passed in 1934 and amended in 1948, the Indians now transact their own business and can sell their land under certain restrictions. If they wish to dispose of land, they must make application to the Indian Agent showing why they want to sell and what they expect to do with the money. He can authorize the sale provided the application conforms with certain rules set up by the Department of Indian Affairs. Many have sold their land, and other sales may be expected in the future. Not all of the Indians who have moved away have sold their land because it is still a fine investment as they do not have to pay taxes.

A survey taken in 1956 indicates that there are still 380 direct descendants of the original tribe at the reservation, and that 637 more live in small towns in the immediate vicinity and in nearby Topeka, 20 miles away. Many of today's Indians are tradesmen, carpenters, brick

masons, painters, and the like. Several are teachers and some are in other professions.

After graduating from the local schools, many of the young people still go to Haskell Institute where arrangements can be made to work for room and board. This makes it possible for any young man or woman with determination to get an education. Every opportunity is also given them to attend other colleges and universities. All members of the tribe are now United States citizens. Only about a dozen are now farming on the reservation.

The present athletic coach at Haskell is a Pottawattamie Indian. Albert Wabaunsee, a great-great-grandson of Chief Waubonsie, is principal of schools at Fort Thompson, South Dakota. He has two sisters, one of whom is head nurse at a hospital in Muskogee, Oklahoma, and the other one is taking her master's degree at the University of Oklahoma.

In recent years the Prairie Band of Pottawattamies in Kansas and the Citizen Pottawattamie Indians of Oklahoma have joined in an action against the United States for an adjustment of the settlements that were made with them from time to time in payment for their lands in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Iowa. Based on their relative numbers, 64.22% of any additional remuneration goes to the Oklahoma group and 35.78% goes to the Prairie Band. Their claims are being heard by the Indian Claims Commission. Two of the several points upon which the case is based have been adjudicated and this could result in something close to three million dollars being paid to the Indians.

The Pottawattamie Indians look back on a history of which they can truly be proud. They can take special pride in the example set by their eminent chief, Waubonsie, who ably led his tribe in war, and then when he made peace with the United States in 1814, he and his people kept faith even when they were forced to move and move again from lands which were promised them. This sketch is a small epitaph from a nation that is sometimes prone to forget.

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